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VOL. XXIII, No. 8

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1929

WHOLE No. 619

## LIVING LATIN BOOK TWO

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CLAIRE C. THURSBY

and

GRETCHEN D. KYNE

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## HORACE IN PRESENT-DAY QUOTATION

In my article, *The Influence of the Classics on English Literature*, I made brief reference<sup>1</sup> to the use of quotations from Horace in contemporary literature. Some student working in the field of classical influence would find it valuable to continue the studies of Miss Caroline Goad<sup>2</sup> and Miss Mary Rebecca Thayer<sup>3</sup> by investigating Horace's influence on contemporary literature. This paper may serve merely to call attention to the subject. In itself it is too slight to offer a basis for anything more than suggestive conclusions.

I reproduce below some sixty quotations from Horace. They have been collected in the course of my ordinary reading over a period of several years. I have not in any case hunted for examples or picked books in which I thought there was a chance of finding examples. The collection is therefore a random one, and the value of my conclusions, if there is any value at all in them, results from this fact. Any attempt to analyze classical influence must be based upon material gathered either casually or exhaustively.

The quotations themselves I have found useful occasionally as illustrative material in the classroom; perhaps other teachers may be able to put them to the same use. My present interest, however, is different. I feel that it may be valuable to analyze on the basis of frequency of quotation the reasons for the present popularity of Horace. I have therefore grouped the references according to the poems from which they were drawn. The distribution is, I think, suggestive: Odes, Book 1, 9, Book 2, 3, Book 3, 7, Book 4, 2; Satires, Book 1, 3; Epistles, Book 1, 2; Ars Poetica, 36.

It will be noted that no references come from the Epodes or from Satires, Book 2, or Epistles, Book 2, that there is a relative lack of quotation from the fourth book of the Odes and the first books of the Satires and the Epistles, and, finally, that the quotations from the Ars Poetica are astonishingly preponderant. Although in view of the limited amount of material it would not be wise to make dogmatic statements, I venture to offer a few suggestions by way of inference from the above distribution.

(1) Tags from Horace are evidently still in very common use, but are not nearly so extensive or so frequent as they were in the past, especially in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

(2) The tags come from a more limited number of poems than formerly. There is a conspicuous stress of Books 1 and 3 of the Odes at the expense of the other

works of Horace, and Book 2 of the Epistles and Book 2 of the Satires are entirely lacking. I am inclined to think that this proportion is the result of the school training of the men who use the quotations, i. e. the greater number of references comes from the books normally read in College<sup>4</sup>.

(3) The stress on the Ars Poetica is noteworthy. Our age has apparently not yet rejected the authority of Horace in criticism. It is unlikely that the poem is widely read in College (certainly it is not more widely read than the Odes); therefore we must explain the large number of citations by supposing that the tags have become as it were acclimatized and are used now without thought of their origin.

(4) The unexpected frequency of the expression "purple patch" is remarkable and calls for separate explanation. The expression appears seventeen times. Even if we omit repetitions by the same author, there are thirteen instances, i. e. more than the total number deriving from the first two books of the Odes. The expression seems to me to be so thoroughly assimilated that it has become part and parcel of our critical jargon, and is frequently not even *felt* to have a foreign origin<sup>5</sup>.

## CARMINA

### 1.1.1<sup>6</sup> *Maecenas*

Once upon a time, some two thousand years ago, there lived a lover of beauty, poetry, and high thinking who actually spent money in support of the things that he professed to admire; but he was unique and has had no successor in twenty centuries, so that the noble title of "patron of arts and letters" finds its sole synonym in his unseconded name, Maecenas.—Lawrence Mason, in *Literary Review*, October 15, 1921, page 87.

Perhaps, on the whole, he <Boswell> preferred the reputation of patron to that of poet, for he was ever ambitious to be deemed a Maecenas—a sufficiently rare ambition in a youth of twenty summers.—*New York Herald*, August 6, 1922.

Since the Guild calls for subscriptions—asking, that is, for a few thousand Maecenases instead of one—it takes on the color of a quasi-public institution, like the Metropolitan Opera House and the Boston Symphony.—*New York Times*<sup>7</sup>.

### 1.1.24-25 *bellaque matribus detestata* . . .

My mother never once agreed . . . Wars, which mothers detest, she feared as the worst of plagues.—Anatole France, *La Vie en Fleur*, in *The Dial*, 61 (1921), 389.

<sup>4</sup>This interpretation would seem to be borne out by the fact that the first poem of each of the works of Horace mentioned in the text, except Book 4 of the Odes, is cited at least once, and in the first and the third books of the Odes the first poem is cited four times. It seems unlikely that this is mere accident. I see in it rather an evidence of the fact that to many persons who must read their Horace hurriedly the acquaintance with the lesser known works is limited to the first poem of each.

<sup>5</sup>This may of course be equally true of any of the quotations (such as "the golden mean") which appear only in the English form and which have become familiar in that form even to persons who know no Latin.

<sup>6</sup>Of course Horace mentions Maecenas in other poems, and the reference might just as well be e.g. to Satires 1.9.43. But I suspect that many men can repeat from memory *Maecenas atatis* who have completely forgotten *Maecenas quomodo tecum* . . .

<sup>7</sup>I have unfortunately lost the more exact reference.

<sup>1</sup>The Classical Journal 22(1927), 496.

<sup>2</sup>Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (Yale University Press, 1918).

<sup>3</sup>The Influence of Horace on the Chief English Poets of the Nineteenth Century (Yale University Press, 1916). <I gave an analysis, with comments, of the books by Miss Goad and Miss Thayer, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12, 169, 170-171, 177-178, C. K.>.

1.2.33 *Erycina ridens*....

*Erycina ridens*. Laughing, the woman-goddess, at this centre of an ancient, quite-lost world.... The name of Athens hardly moves me. But Eryx—my darkness quivers. Eryx, looking west into Africa's sunset. *Erycina ridens*.—D. H. Lawrence, *Sea and Sardinia*, in *The Dial*, 61 (1921), 445-446.

1.3.9 *aes triplex*....

Dark, slender Gita Cartaret of Atlantic City had "a sound endocrine constitution." She wore her hair not shingled but shorn, wore mannish clothes (from B. V. D.'s out) and repulsed all male attention with a temperamental corselet of ice triplex.—Review of Gertrude Atherton, *The Crystal Cup*, in *Time*, September 14, 1925.

1.7.27 *Nil desperandum*....

So that \$22,000,000 of the whole \$33,000,000 <needed by Columbia University> has already been provided. *Nil desperandum!*—President Butler, in *New York Times*, June 9, 1922.

1.11.8 *carpe diem*....

In speaking of the time of day for fly-fishing in the spring, he says: "*Carpe diem* is a good watchword when trout are in the humor." At least I know a good pun when I see one.—Robert C. Benchley, *Love Conquers All*, 259.

1.38.1-2 *Persicos...adparatus*....

We learn from his publishers, Harper and Brothers, that the new home of Rupert Hughes on Los Feliz Boulevard, Los Angeles, is an adaptation of Persian motives and details. (Wasn't it Horace who said, "Oh, boy, how I hate that Persian stuff?")—*New York Times*, December 29, 1925.

2.1.7-8 *ignis suppositos cineri doloso*.

Yet throughout Homer gives us a sense of fires burning beneath the ashes; we are on the edge of an outbreak of ungovernable passions; and at the close Priam steals away while Achilles is sleeping.—R. W. Livingstone, *The Pageant of Greece*, 42.

2.10.5 *auream mediocritatem*....

"There is a time to dance," says a wise man in an old book. Our extremists of today say, Dance all the time. Somewhere between these two views of pleasure is to be found the golden mean, and the point of view of common sense.—*Ithaca Journal News*, January 16, 1923.

2.14.1-2 *Eheu fugaces...labuntur anni*....

How far-off are those blessed times when my childish curiosity sought solitary exercise in making itself acquainted with the mushroom! '*Eheu! Fugaces labuntur anni!*' said Horace. Ah, yes, the years glide fleeting by, especially when they are nearing their end.—Jean Henri Fabre, *The Life of the Fly*, Chapter XVII, 398.

3.1.1 *Odi profanum vulgus*....

A truce to nice delicacy! *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*; hence, ye profane: you would not understand the mighty lesson of the ragtank.—Fabre, *The Life of the Fly*, Chapter IX, 215.

He <Nietzsche> loathed the common herd more than Horace, more than Flaubert—to whom life was a bad smell.—James G. Huneker, *Overtones*, 113.

The poet Horace looked upon the multitude of common people and called them pigs. The Roman Senate regarded the struggle for existence and called men wolves. The people of the ante-bellum South looked upon the black man in his misery and called him slave<sup>8</sup>.—Editorial, *Ithaca Journal News*, October 6, 1921.

<sup>8</sup>I cannot help calling attention to the remarkable ignorance displayed in this bit of journalism. The enthusiastic editor had presumably no volume of quotations convenient to his hand, and was in any case far too much concerned with the rhythm of his phrase to be over-meticulous as to its accuracy.

Quite a number of years before Mr. Mencken there was a poet of aristocratic tastes and numerous affiliations in high society, who lived on a Sabine farm. He, too, had something to say to the young generation, *virginibus puerisque*. He, too, began by expressing his contempt for the crowd "*Odi vulgus profanum*"; but—what? Only two words more: "*et arceo*." "I brush them aside" and get down to business.—Simeon Strunsky in *New York Times*, November 29, 1925.

3.2.13 *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*....

And as for "fights," here again are songs breathing at the same time love of country, the "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," and the bitter cynicism of the returned soldier mocking at the delusive glory of war.—Richard Le Gallienne, on A. E. Housman, in *New York Times*, December 3, 1922.

3.3.5 *dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*....

Gabriele d'Annunzio, lately the *dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*, has been appointed honorary generalissimo of the Turkish Army, with the rank of Pasha; and no doubt he could be described as the man who put the pash in it.—*New York Times*, March 4, 1923.

3.30.1 *monumentum aere perennius*....

Indeed, boasting has a sort of picturesque good reason for being, when the boaster is better than all his boasts. Does one quarrel with—

"Not marble, nor the gilded monuments of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme."—Gertrude Hall, Introduction to Translation of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, v.

4.9.25 *fortes ante Agamemnona*....

We know that Egyptian priests could tell him <Herodotus> the history of Cheops and of Rhampsinitos, but that no Greek could tell him that of the strong men who lived before Agamemnon.—H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 2.

Buchon, Finlay and Hopf have found worthy followers among the Greeks. It is recognized that, if there "lived strong men before Agamemnon," there also "lived strong men" after Philopomen.—William Miller, on Modern Greek Historians, in *History* 10 (1925), 110.

## SERMONES

1.1.70 *de te fabula*....

...for it is assuredly a case of *de nobis fabula*; the readers and writers of this very column in this very journal are often among the arch offenders.—*Literary Review*, October 15, 1921, page 87.

I have been scrupulously keeping to the Middle Ages. But almost everything that I have said has had its *de te fabula* for today.—John L. Lowes, *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*, 91.

1.4.62 *disiecti membra poetae*.

And so we get the *disiecti membra poetae*—as if the poet had been hit and scattered into crystal fragments by a bomb, or had been, at best, cut up, like Romeo, into little stars.—John L. Lowes, on modern trivial poetry, in *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*, 308-309.

## EPISTULAE

1.1.61 *nulla pallescere culpa*.

<William Pultney sent to the British Museum a coin with the following comment>. This guinea I desire may be kept as an heirloom. It was won of Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Commons; he asserting the verse in Horace to be *Nulli pallescere culpa*, whereas I laid the wager of a guinea that it was *Nulla pallescere culpa*.... This guinea, I hope, will prove to my posterity the use of knowing Latin, and encourage them in their learning.—*New York World Magazine*, May 23, 1926.

1.11.27 *caelum, non animum mutant*....

John T. Adams, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, says that "when one travels in



Europe it strengthens his <sic> confidence in American institutions and in Republican policies as well."—New York Times, April 22, 1923.

## ARS POETICA

15-16 *purpureus... pannus...*

Rhetoric and declamation, the eternal, illogical and inconclusive repetition of phrases and commonplaces, the conventional and exaggerated epithets, the regular purple patch from favorite authors are invariable in literature <of the Middle Ages>.—Domenico Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, 162.

The book <Babbitt: Rousseau and Romanticism> overflows with sound learning, sensible deductions and purple passages of critical prose.—J. W. Draper, Summa of Romanticism, in Colonnade 14 (1922), 258.

The excerpters from Milton's prose... all have eyes for the purple patches.—Richard Garnett, The Prose of Milton, vii.

The whole of the rest of this chapter is a *τόπος* or patch, half physiological and half psychological, of a character extremely tiresome to modern readers.—S. Gaselee, in his translation of Achilles Tatius, in the Loeb Classical Library, 341, note 1.

Evidently he <Seneca> writes not for representation but for recitation to an audience that wants "purple patches," and he either has little sense of dramatic propriety or does not care to cultivate it.—A. D. Godley, Senecan Tragedy, in G. S. Gordon, English Literature and the Classics, 239.

Rhetorical purple patches and rhetorical rotundity of phrase appeal to France as they never could to England.—*Ibidem*, 246.

...Giraldus Cambrensis, who burst into purple patches in praise of a Welsh landscape and its beauties.—Richard M. Gummere, The English Essay and Some of Its Ancient Prototypes, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14 (1921), 155.

If "Paradise Lost" is poetry, why not the great purple patches of the "Areopagitica"?—John L. Lowes, Convention and Revolt in Poetry, 269.

This <the death of a charioteer in Achilles Tatius: Leucippe and Clitophon> gives occasion for that purple patch on a driving accident which seems to have been to Greek and Roman audiences what the fox-hunting joke is to *Punch*.—J. S. Phillimore, The Greek Romances, in G. S. Gordon, English Literature and the Classics, 110.

The tone <of the papyrus fragments of Lysias> is subdued; "purple patches" are studiously avoided; in fact, we are here face to face with the true classical spirit which cares little for individual strokes but everything for the general effect.—J. U. Powell and E. A. Barber, New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, 10.

To the student the unusual combination <in Pliny's Panegyric> of Ciceronian period with Silver point is highly interesting. The following is a fairly representative "purple patch."—Walter C. Summers, The Silver Age of Latin Literature, 135.

He <Encolpius, in Petronius> himself holds that the unpractical tendencies of the declamation schools and the cultivation of the purple patch are responsible <for the decline of eloquence>.—*Ibidem*, 222.

<In Pliny's encyclopedia> several of the introductions and passages, like the panegyric of Italy... and the descriptions of the nightingale's song and the spider's web, proclaim themselves as purple patches.—*Ibidem*, 306.

What Hudson did was to adapt his style to his subject. As for "purple passages" there are no such flares as Pater's description of the Mona Lisa to be found because Hudson was not that kind of writer... The anthologists who hunt for purple passages of prose will find that he constantly baffles them.—New York Times, June 3, 1923.

Vaudeville has known him <the comedian "Chic" Sale>, for the most part, though there have been extra-vaudeville forays. One of these was in an unfortunate play known as "Common Sense," which had its purple patch of road production a few seasons ago.—*Ibidem*, September 23, 1925.

As for individual passages of special merit, Mr. Morris' translation <of the Odyssey> is no robe of rags sewn with purple patches for critics to sample.—Oscar Wilde, in a review of Morris's translation: see the volume entitled Poems, in Wilde's Complete Works, 493 (1916).

71-72 *usus... norma loquendi.*

I should like to see and hear the pleasant words betrothal and betrothed come again into general use. And this reminds me that old Horace says: "Many words will come back which are now fallen into disuse, and others given up which are now held in honor, if usage wills, with which rests the decision as to what is correct in speech."—Ireson Hicks, in a letter to the Literary Review, April 22, 1922.

78 *sub iudice...*

In regard to the attitude of the Roman government towards the Christian religion, there are questions still *sub iudice*.—J. B. Bury, in the article Gibbon, in Encyclopaedia Britannica<sup>11</sup>, 11.935 C.

The papyrus leaves the reader to find the colometry, so for the present the question must remain *sub iudice*.—Powell and Barber, New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, 10.

139 *Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.*

The Signale, speaking of the desire of the Berlin Tonkünstler-Verein to help young composers to get their works performed, says that "our mortifying unproductive time labors like a mountain, and a ridiculous mouse is brought forth. A mere joy in music-making is not enough; a sharply outlined outlook in the world must sound through it."—New York Times, February 12, 1922.

No wonder the grammatical Vesuvius is laboring.—*Ibidem*, June 18, 1922.

148 *in medias res...*

What led to the outbreak of a diction that swept over the eighteenth century like the plague, is of the utmost interest, but impossible of treatment here. I must plunge *in medias res*.—John L. Lowes, Convention and Revolt in Poetry, 207.

173 *laudator temporis acti...*

These prices were so reasonable that today they seem almost fantastic; one may well become a convert to the *laudator temporis acti* theory after contemplating the bill of charges presented to a group of travelling scholastics in the fourteenth century.—W. C. Firebaugh, The Inns of the Middle Ages, 252.

It is to this last group that Richard Aldington belongs, and it is he whom I have chosen to call a *laudator temporis acti*. There is in him a tendency to shun all that is ugly in the present and to live in the shadowy world of ancient Greece or mediaeval Europe.—Literary Review, April 22, 1922.

If he is wise, he warns himself against the danger of becoming a mere praiser of past time; and if he is very wise, he makes every effort to understand and to appreciate the present and not to dread the future.—Brander Matthews, Tocsin of Revolt; quoted in New York Times, October 29, 1922.

191 *nec deus intersit...*

<A nation's great figures quickly become myths, but Washington> rests aloof and cold, above the clouds among the upper deities, distinctly a god outside the machine.—Thomas H. Dickinson, The Theatrical Interpreter—The Heroic Age, in American Review 3 (1925), 516.

*Nec Deus intersit*—and so-and-so—  
Is a well-worn citation whose close fit  
None will perceive more clearly in this Fane  
Than its presiding Deity opposite.

—Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts* I.1.3 (page 25).

291 *limae labor*....

<Huneker> was inclined to jump suddenly from one subject to another, as ideas in battalions rushed into his head, and he disliked the labor of the revising file.—Editorial in *New Music Review*<sup>9</sup>.

359 *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*....

Percy Hammond once told me that "The Secret Orchard" had been dramatized and was a fizzle. Hammond, like Homer, often nods, and if the dramatization failed it was because it was made by a butcher.—Kenelm Digby, in *Literary Review*, April 8, 1922.

But even Homer sometimes nodded, and since the repetitions are already so numerous in his poems, a few more, though displeasing to our literary taste, may nevertheless be primitive.—Bernard P. Grenfell, *The Value of Papyri for Textual Criticism*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 39 (1919), 18.

<If he used a certain word in a wrong sense> Milton was nodding Homericly.—Sidney Grew, *Mutual Error*, in *Musical Times*, No. 935, page 19.

In this instance being forced back on grammar, I took the liberty of telling my correspondent that it was not a matter of Jove sleeping nor of Homer nodding, but of Melchizedek forgetting that my "except" was a conjunction, not a preposition.—John O'London, in *New York Times Book Review*, June 18, 1922.

388 *nonumque prematur in annum*....

It is all very well for Horace to proclaim that seven years is the proper period to ripen a poet's verse; that the writing desk should have a drawer into which everything should go easily and come out only with difficulty. Horace could follow that rule, and those of the same cast of mind could follow it.... But not all are Horatians.—Richard Aldrich on Mozart, in *New York Times*, February 12, 1922.

If he had only meditated, deliberated and reflected more; if he had but undertaken revision and correction; if he had only adopted, if not the Horatian maxim, at least some effective, if less vigorous, check upon the endless facility of his writing!—*Ibidem*.

...my first essay <a translation of Sophocles> which has been kept for more than the statutory nine years of Horace.—F. Storr, Introduction to his translation of Sophocles, in the Loeb Classical Library, I.xiv.

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE, CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

## REVIEW

*The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century.* By Benjamin Dean Meritt. Published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, by the Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts (1928). Pp. VII + 138. 2 Plates.

Professor Meritt's monograph, *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century*, embodies the results of a prolonged study of the famous inscription, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Editio Minor, I<sup>2</sup>, No. 324 (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1924. Pp. VIII + 393)<sup>1</sup>, which contains a detailed account of the money borrowed from Athena and 'the other gods' during the quadrennium 426/5-423/2. From the time of Boeckh this

<sup>9</sup>Here again I regret the incomplete reference; my clipping bears no date.

<sup>1</sup>This work is cited in this review as I. G. I<sup>2</sup>.

account-book of the Athenian State has been responsible for much theorizing about the Athenian calendar; yet the net gain from the many studies, published and unpublished, has been a multiplicity of divergent views (compare J. K. Fotheringham's review of Professor Meritt's monograph, *The Classical Review* 43 [1929], 20-21).

Two considerations prompted Professor Meritt to try his hand at restoring this document, (1) the belief that from it the secrets of the Athenian senatorial calendar could be learned, and (2) the confession made by Kirchner, who edited it for the editio minor of *Inscriptiones Graecae* (see above). On page 153 Kirchner wrote:

...acquiescendum videtur esse eis, quae Keil <Hermes 39 [1894] 61> profitetur: "Ich halte die Versuche, die Zahlen der Inschrift namentlich in den Jahren 2-4 wiederherstellen zu wollen, für absolut aussichtslos.... durch langwierige Berechnungen hatte ich den Standpunkt der Resignation gewonnen".

This confession probably has been echoed by many who, like myself, have busied themselves with these accounts. So much the greater credit is due to Professor Meritt, for his restorations (see Plates I-II) must be regarded as in all essentials definitive and final. Except for a few trifling lacunae, the text of the accounts of Athena is complete, even in the years which Kirchner and Keil considered hopeless; and the fragments belonging to the accounts of 'the other gods' have been brought into their proper relationship with one another (Plate I). For this part of the inscription, a group of small fragments that were found in the Erechtheum in 1914 was particularly helpful.

The Table of Contents of the book is as follows:

Preface (VII); Chapter I, Introduction (3-4); Chapter II, The New Fragments (5-29); Chapter III, Methods of Reckoning Interest (30-37); Chapter IV, Totals of Principal Borrowed from Athena Polias (38-47); Chapter V, The Accounts of Athena Nike (48-50); Chapter VI, Single Payments from the Treasure of Athena Polias (51-72); Chapter VII, Athena Nike and The Other Gods (73-80); Chapter VIII, Concluding Lines of the Inscription (81-83); Chapter IX, The Athenian Calendar from 434 to 401 B.C.: Part I (84-100), Part II (101-114), Part III (containing Tables: 114-122); Chapter X, Conclusion (123-126); Bibliography (127-130); Description of Plates (131); Plate I (Facsimile of I. G. I<sup>2</sup>, 324), at end of volume; Plate II (Transcript of I. G. I<sup>2</sup>, 324) at end of volume; Index (133-138).

In the first part of the book (3-83) Professor Meritt confines himself chiefly to the problem of restoring the text of the inscription, but, since it contained a record of interest due on loans made by the treasuries of the gods, he found it necessary to ascertain first the date to which the interest was reckoned. In line 79 of a fragment long known but never properly read he discovered an important clue (9-11). The twentieth day of the tenth prytany, 423/2, was Σκυροφοριῶνος ἡμέρη φθινόγοντος, and interest was reckoned to the last day of the prytany. In computing interest on small amounts for short periods, students have been at a loss to know how the Greeks handled their fractions. Obviously our decimal system might produce results slightly different from those of the fifth century ac-

countant. In Chapter III (30-37) Professor Meritt discusses methods of reckoning interest, and for the purpose of approximating ancient practice he prints a Table (34) to be used in computing interest on amounts of money which are expressed by one of the numerical symbols used in Athens during this period. With this Table Professor Meritt is able to restore lacunae which had defied all previous editors. Incidentally he convicts the Athenian accountants of carelessness in copying the records (48-50, 69-70).

From the fact that Prytany X, 20 fell on Skirophorion 23 (22), it became clear that the year of the Boule (called by Professor Meritt the senatorial year) was not coterminous with the lunar calendar year, a fact which Keil had discovered; but it soon became clear that the senatorial calendar was much simpler than the one proposed by Keil. In short, Professor Meritt proves that the senatorial year during the Peloponnesian War was a close approximation of the solar year, being composed of ten prytanies of 36 and 37 days. Using astronomical data, he is able to show also that the Boule entered office late in June or early in July. This marks a great advance in chronological studies, for to all events dated by prytanies we can now give a place in our Julian calendar without the mediation of the Greek lunar calendar with its uncertain system of intercalations.

The second part of the book (84-126) is devoted to a detailed study of the lunar and senatorial calendars from 434 to 401. Here Professor Meritt marshals an imposing array of astronomical, literary, and epigraphical data, which he uses to solve some of the important chronological problems of the period. His conclusions are embodied in Tables (118-120) which give us the order of intercalations in the lunar calendar, the dates of Prytany I, 1 according to the Athenian and the Julian calendars, and other important details. His reconstruction of the calendar led Professor Meritt to accept the statement of Diodorus (12.36) that Athens adopted in 432 the Metonic Cycle of nineteen years in place of the eight-year cycle which had been used before. According to the new cycle there should have been seven intercalated months in nineteen years. But the first period of nineteen years apparently included eight intercalations, the second only six. From this Professor Meritt concludes that, instead of using a fixed order of intercalations within the cycle, Athens felt free to add an extra month when the occasion demanded. For those who may consider the evidence insufficient to prove the adoption of the Metonic Cycle at this time Professor Meritt points out that the known intercalations are equally unsatisfactory for an eight-year cycle.

Professor Meritt's chief contribution in this section of the book is to be found in a discussion (101-107) of the intercalary month which, in the opinion of scholars since the time of Boeckh, was omitted ca. 422/1. No such month was omitted. Incidentally, Professor Meritt corrects current conceptions with regard to the order of the months Gerastios and Artemisios in the Spartan calendar. Gerastios followed Artemisios. Now the dates given by Thucydides (4.118-119;

5.19) readily find their place in the reconstructed calendar.

Passages in Aristophanes (Peace 406-415; Clouds 615-626) have been used in the past to support the theory that a month was omitted in 422/1. They contain complaints about irregularities in the calendar. In Professor Meritt's opinion, however, they show merely that the *νομηνία* of the calendar was two days in advance of the *νομηνία κατὰ σελήνην* (Thucydides 2.28). Since the variation existed in 432 and 431 and continued until after the revised version of the Clouds, Professor Meritt has made no adjustments to bring Hecatombaeon 1 to the actual date of the new moon<sup>2</sup>. Yet, if Athens had made a major reform of the calendar in 432, such as the adoption of the Metonic Cycle, is it not probable that some attempt would have been made to correct minor faults? This could have been done without violence by intercalating an extra day in each ordinary year until the moon and the calendar were again in agreement. But Professor Meritt, using Aristophanes (Peace 406-415, Clouds 615-626), says that the trouble was one of long standing. Yet one notes that Aristophanes (Clouds 624-626) makes an enigmatic reference to a punishment received from the gods by Hyperbolus, who, it would seem, was responsible for the difficulties under which the gods are represented as laboring. One wonders, therefore, whether the irregularity to which Aristophanes refers is necessarily the old discrepancy between months and moon. May it not have been a new disturbance for which Hyperbolus was directly responsible between 423 and 417? An irregular intercalation of a month would be as disturbing to the gods, one might imagine, as an error of two or three days. The fact that Athens did use intercalation irregularly is known from the Eleusinian tax decree (I. G. 1<sup>2</sup>. 76) which orders the insertion of an extra Hecatombaeon (75-76) during these very years. The date of the decree is controversial; Professor Meritt refrains from assigning it to a precise year. Judged by letter forms alone, the inscription can be dated in the neighborhood of 420. In my opinion a date before the Peloponnesian War is scarcely credible. Judged by contents, the decree seems to belong, as A. Koerte<sup>3</sup> has shown, to a period when Athens was at peace, i.e. before 418<sup>4</sup>. Although one may be tempted to infer

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Fotheringham (The Classical Review 43.20-21) notes that Professor Meritt "has placed the beginnings of the Attic months four days before the crescent moon", and he recommends students to add four to all Julian equivalents of Attic dates given by Professor Meritt. Some changes are undoubtedly necessary, especially after the calendar was brought back into line with the moon, for Professor Meritt has based his calculations on the astronomical *new moons*, calculated from Ginzel, *Handbuch der Chronologie* 1, Table III, which are only one or two days behind the calendar *νομηνίαι* of Professor Meritt's Tables (118-120). He ought rather to have used the appearance of the crescent moon as a point of departure for determining *νομηνίαι*.

<sup>3</sup>See Ferdinand Noack, *Eleusis, Die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes*, 313-317 (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1927).

<sup>4</sup>The extra Hecatombaeon may possibly have been substituted for Posideion II in 422/1. Professor Meritt says (106) that Thucydides proves that the year did not have two extra months. The evidence (109) lies in Thucydides's statement (5.20) that the peace of Nicias, ratified on Elaphebolion 25, was made *τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἡρι*. If there had been two intercalations in 422/1, Elaphebolion 25 would have fallen on May 9, far too late for the end of winter and the beginning of spring. If the Eleusinian intercalation did not fall in 422/1, I see no place for them during



that Aristophanes (Clouds 624-626) was referring to this Eleusinian intercalation, in the present state of our knowledge it is better to reserve judgment. Probably one ought to admit that a purely objective use of the passages from Aristophanes is impossible so long as we do not know the exact events to which they refer.

The superiority of Professor Meritt's calendar to the various current hypotheses can be readily demonstrated by any one who wishes to apply it to events mentioned by Thucydides. Several years ago I made a chronological study of the fifteen months which preceded the invasion of Attica in 431 (Classical Philology 10 [1915], 34-53). At that time Keil's views held the field. Not until later (The American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series 29 [1925], 3-16) did I become convinced that Keil's thesis was untenable. The result of my acceptance of Keil's conclusions was the proposal of a hazardous emendation for the text of Thucydides 2.2, necessitated, so it seemed to me then, by the fact that otherwise it was impossible to date the invasion in May. The new calendar removes the difficulty, and the date in May can stand (109-111). Professor Meritt now thinks that the invasion began about May 20, *θέρους καὶ τοῦ αἰῶτος ἀκμάζοντος* (Thucydides 2.19). In confirmation of this date and as an illustration of the Greek phrase, I shall cite my own observations made May 19, 1926, while I was driving from Athens to Thebes over some of the ground through which the invading Peloponnesian army passed. On that day nearly all the grain in Attica was cut. Only a few over-ripe patches were standing. In Boeotia, it may be noted, the harvesting had just begun.

In passing, I note a *lapsus calami* (111). Gallias (not Nicias) was the general who died before Phormio was sent to the north. At this point Professor Meritt, by implication at least, takes issue with my views (Classical Philology 10 [1915], 34-35) about the Macedonian campaigns of 432, when he argues from I.G. 1<sup>2</sup>.296, lines 11-13, that money might be paid to the Hellenotamiae, even though the general for whom the money was intended was still in Athens. Not only is the restoration of Phormio's name in these lines conjectural, but Professor Meritt's calendar, so it seems to me, makes it even more difficult to harmonize the restoration with Thucydides. Phormio would have arrived at Potidaea in late October or in early November, if he had received money in Athens during the fourth prytany of 432/1 (ca. October 20-November 26). The events of this year deserve further study<sup>5</sup>.

In the summary Tables (118-120) Professor Meritt has included, *exempli gratia*, much that is tentative, and the reader is clearly warned of the uncertainty in these items. Yet there is always a danger in this procedure. When a scholar has made a certain field his own, it happens frequently that even his conjectures

become the gospel of a generation of scholars who have neither the time nor the patience to examine the evidence for themselves. Because of this tendency, Keil's calendar has been extensively used (e.g. Busolt, Griechische Geschichte 3.2. XXV-XXXV) as a chronological framework for the Peloponnesian War.

In this connection a recent paper, by Mr. Jacob Geerlings, is of interest (Classical Philology 24 [1929], 239-244). Mr. Geerlings, at Professor Meritt's suggestion, has shown from I. G. 1<sup>2</sup>, 96 and 302, lines 28-29, that the Senate of 418/7 was in office for a few days during the archonship of Euphemus (417/6). It follows, as Mr. Geerlings points out, that Professor Meritt's three successive intercalations (419/8-417/6), tentatively proposed, were incorrect, for one can easily show that there were only two intercalations, including the certain intercalation of 422/1, between 422/1 and 418/7 inclusive.

In Professor Meritt's argumentation much emphasis is laid upon Keil's theory (Hermes 29, 40-41) that payments for the Panathenaia were made before the festival (93-94). He has recently written me that his views on this point have changed slightly. The point that he now wishes to emphasize is that the payments were made near the time of the festival. Although this is a slight change, it permits us to readjust the calendar in 411/0 to accord with Aristotle's statements (Polity of Athens 33) that Mnasilochus was archon *δύμηνον*, and that Theopompus was in office the remaining ten months of the year 411/0. If Aristotle is right, the year was 'common', i.e. without an intercalated month, and the Panathenaic payment of 410 (I. G. 1<sup>2</sup>, 304), which was made in the second prytany (beginning ca. Metageitnion 2), would have fallen near the festival if the money was paid early in the prytany.

If the Panathenaic payments fall near the time of the festival, we must conclude with Professor Meritt (93) that there was "one intercalary year, and one only, between 415/4 and 412/1 inclusive"<sup>6</sup>. The payment of 415 (I.G. 1<sup>2</sup>.304) would then have been made on Hecatombaeon 25(26), the twentieth day of the second prytany. Although we assume with Professor Meritt that payments made by the treasurers of 416/5 might have been included in the records of the senatorial year 415/4, since the treasurers of the goddess held office from Panathenaia to Panathenaia, and that the treasurers named in the preamble might not have been in office on Hecatombaeon 25 (26), it does not seem likely that the records would state that the money was paid to the incoming Hellenotamiae, as they do, unless the incoming Hellenotamiae were already in office. Thus we must conclude that the payment of Prytany II, 20 was made to the new Hellenotamiae, and, since their office was coterminous with that of the treasurers of Athena (19), it would follow that the new treasurers of Athena were in office on Hecatombaeon 25(26). But there is evidence, I

these years except in 417/6. But, if we accept the second date, we must absolve Hyperbolus of all responsibility for this irregular intercalation.

<sup>5</sup>The paper by Professor Harry M. Hubbell on the chronology of the years before 431 appeared after this paragraph was written (see Classical Philology 24 [1929], 217-230).

<sup>6</sup>Professor Meritt states (94) that the intercalary year may have been either 415/4 or 414/3. On the strength of Mr. Geerlings's paper, he believes now that there need be no hesitation about assigning the intercalation to 414/3, as it is given in the Tables (118-120).



believe, in I.G. 1<sup>2</sup>.305, restored by me to agree with Professor Meritt's comments (96) on the inscription<sup>7</sup>, to show that an outgoing board of treasurers made payments as late as Hecatombaeon 27 or 28 [ἔρρι<τῆι φθίνοντος Ἑκατομβαιῶνος>]. Thus the new treasurers were probably not in office on Hecatombaeon 25 (26) in 415 and some correction must be made to bring Prytany II, 20 into the new Panathenaic year which began not earlier than Hecatombaeon 28. If we assume another intercalary year between 415/4 and 412/1, the Panathenaic payment comes nearly a month after the festival. This, Professor Meritt thinks, is improbable. The only alternative solution necessitates shifting the date for Prytany I, 1, 415/4, from Thargelion to one of the first days of Skirophorion.

We have already noted that the first Metonic Cycle contained eight intercalations, the second only six. One might argue from this that a situation occurred in the last year or two of a cycle which demanded an extra month. In such an event, the correction would naturally be deferred until the next cycle. If the extra month had been inserted earlier in the cycle, the proper number of intercalations could have been secured by the simple omission of a scheduled intercalation. On such an assumption it might be possible to have two successive intercalations, the last two of a cycle. In the second cycle the calendar could be brought back to normal, if there was a fixed order of intercalations, either by omitting the first intercalary month, or by spacing the six intercalations of the cycle irregularly with a view to avoiding an abnormal succession of ordinary years. To illustrate, I shall reconstruct, with slight changes, the Meritt-Geerlings list of intercalations beginning with 422/1: 422/1 I; 421/0 (0); 420/19 (0); 419/8 (I); 418/7 (0); 417/6 (I); 416/5 (0); 415/4 (I); 414/3 (I); 413/2 (0); 412/1 (0); 411/0 (0); 410/09 (I). According to the foregoing scheme, the two successive intercalations would come in the last two years of the cycle, 415/4 and 414/3. But, since Professor Meritt denies that there was a fixed normal order of intercalations in a Metonic Cycle—his evidence is not gained solely from a study of intercalations during the Peloponnesian War (102)—, it may be futile to attempt to reconstruct a theoretical cycle. One can readily agree with Professor Meritt that in practice the Athenians were opportunists, whatever their theory may have been.

Professor Meritt (97-100) uses I.G. 1<sup>2</sup>.304, lines 41-92, as evidence for the character of the years 409/8-407/6. Since much depends upon the correctness of the date (407/6) assigned tentatively to this inscription by Kirchhoff, critical readers will probably suspend judgment until Professor Meritt publishes his reasons for accepting this date. Lack of space prevents my giving them here.

Although I believe that a difference of opinion on certain points is still possible because of the subjective nature of some of the evidence, readers must not think that I wish to belittle Professor Meritt's epoch-

making work. For the most part his conclusions are incontrovertible, and, since they upset all current views about the Athenian calendar during the Peloponnesian War, the book is indispensable to all students of the period<sup>8</sup>.

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### THE CLASSICS IN THE SENATE

There was a time, we are told, when the English Houses of Parliament echoed with quotations from Horace, Vergil, and Lucan in the original and when the utterance of a false quantity was greeted with discerning, and audible, reproof. *Omnia fert aetas, animus quoque!* To-day it is seldom that parliamentarians, at least in our own country, have recourse to the classical literatures in order to season their discourses with apt quotation. While quotations do flow with generous abundance in the halls of the Capitol at Washington, they derive largely from recent or contemporary writers and those not always of the highest literary merit. Still less frequently is occasion found or taken to refer by name to classical authors and their works. It is all the more noteworthy and refreshing, therefore, to find a United States Senator, in the course of a debate on the tariff, passing critical judgment on certain Greek and Latin classics.

On October 11, 1929, Senator Bronson M. Cutting of New Mexico spoke at length in opposition to the existing laws that empower customs and postal officials to exercise a censorship over foreign publications sent for importation into this country. His remarks were caustic and pointed. After citing a number of specific instances of stupid or unmerited rejection, including that of "a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, sent to a professor of The Johns Hopkins University", which "was stopped in the mails", the Senator spoke more positively of the merits of certain Greek and Latin works (Congressional Record 71, 1929, 4652):

"I do not know that I have very much to say on this particular subject of the black list, except to point out that the classics, the Greek and Latin writers, who have managed to survive for 2,000 years or more, and have been passed on from one generation of school children to another, are largely barred by the regulations laid down by the Bureau of Customs.

Take the works of Aristophanes, a puritan, an austere conservative, who wanted to have men like Euripides and Socrates exiled or executed because he thought they were corrupting the morals of youth. The works of that man are now 2,000 years after his death being excluded from this country, but not because they contain coarse passages. There is only one of his works which is on the particular black list which I have here in my hand, and that is the *Lysistrata*, the first and most powerful argument on the futility and the brutality of warfare. I wonder whether the exclusion of *All Quiet on the Western Front* was perhaps induced by some similar motive as that which bars from the country the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes.

I am not going to continue on this line any further except to point out that the works of Ovid, the *Daphnis* and *Chloe* of Longus, that charming pastoral of the third century before Christ, the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, which is read by everyone in school and college<sup>1</sup>, the works of Boccaccio, and of countless more modern authors are excluded from the country".

Later in the course of his remarks, when he was alluding to changing standards in ethics and morality,

<sup>7</sup>The fact that in the year of this inscription Panathenaic payments precede the payment of Hecatombaeon 27 (28) proves that there was no regularity about the time of these payments.

<sup>8</sup>Professor Meritt, with his usual indefatigable energy, is now engaged in the preparation of a second volume on the Athenian calendar. In it he will probably discuss many of the problems touched upon in this review.

<sup>1</sup>Eheu! Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis.

Senator Cutting again turned back to the Classics (4656-4657):

"The standards of decency and morality vary from generation to generation. Of all the classical authors the three who might seem least likely to be barred by the customs censors under present regulations are perhaps, Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare. I should like to point out to the Senate that each one of these authors at various times has been branded as an immoral or licentious author. Plato in his Republic insisted that the works of Homer, as well as those of all other poets of the classical period, should be barred as the writings of immoral and indecent authors, holding up to ridicule the religious opinions of the day....

I imagine there are Senators here who remember the time when Power's Greek Slave, in the Corcoran Art Gallery, was placed in a booth, presumably with the object of insuring that none except those with a certificate of moral excellence should be allowed to see that particular work of art".

Before the lengthy debate was ended various speakers had summoned to their aid citations from Milton, Macaulay, John Stuart Mill, Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, the late Vice-President Thomas Marshall, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and others. At the conclusion Senator Cutting's revised amendment to the present customs regulations, permitting of a more liberal policy of censorship, was agreed to by a vote of 38 to 36.

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#### ON TRAINING HEDGES AND TREES AS MILITARY DEFENCES

In *De Bello Gallico* 2.17.4-5 Caesar tells how the Nervii made hedges grow to obstruct the cavalry of their neighbors on their predatory incursions. They notched saplings, bent them over, and allowed branches to grow out laterally, so that, with the aid of briars

and brambles, they formed dense hedges, which, so far from being penetrable, could not even be seen through. As noted in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.96, hedges in Belgium presented formidable obstacles to military operations in the World War<sup>1</sup>.

In another part of the ancient world the Mardi made barriers of trees which it is worth while to compare with the hedges of the Nervii. They planted trees close together the tops of which they entwined while they were still young and imbedded in the ground, so that new shoots sprang up. These were interwoven so densely that they completely shaded the ground. Such a continuous tangle of branches, snares, so to speak (*velut laqueae*), obstructed the Macedonians under Alexander when they made a punitive expedition against the Mardi. The knotty trunks offered too much resistance to the ax, and the branches, being little more than hoops in air, offered too little. This maze extended over much ground and from its coverts the natives, through long familiarity with it, could launch attacks (*Quintus Curtius* 6.5.14-17).

Man instinctively makes use of natural defences. Planning and growing a network of barriers must take higher rank, however, in the history of military science.

The Romans went one step farther. They recognized the value of natural defences and adapted them to their own special needs, those of aggressive warfare. They cut stakes and carried them wherever emergency demanded. None of their contrivances aroused greater admiration in Polybius (18.18) than did their method of making palisades and intertwining them with branches. They had improved upon the defences of the Nervii and the Mardi because their own were movable.

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<sup>1</sup>In a note by William E. Soule, *The Nervii and the Pilgrim Fathers*, *The Classical Journal* 21.534-535, attention is called to fencing made in the same way "along the road from Plymouth, Massachusetts, towards the Cape Cod Canal". The purpose of such fencing was to restrain cattle.